A REVIEW OF ALTERNATIVES
TO THE INCARCERATION
OF THE YOUTHFUL OFFENDER

· By

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I   INTRODUCTION

The present review attempts to describe the various alternatives to incarceration in training schools which have been used in other jurisdictions. The literature dealt with can be subsumed under the rubrics of prevention or diversion. In reality most of the concepts dealt with below have been used to intervene in various stages of youth involvement with the juvenile justice system. Prevention or diversion are terms which describe the point at which youth become involved with the programme. However, here the focus has been on the programme rather than the stage at which the programme is offered.

In reviewing the programmes one must bear in mind the general characteristics of the target population. Generally, research has shown that youth who come into conflict with the juvenile justice system have certain common characteristics:

1)   Most come from family environments which can be described as, at best, unstable and at worst dysfunctional.

2)   Not only are these children faced with problems in the family environment but they are also often in conflict with their families.

3)   Most of these children had careers in the school system which are not only frustrating to themselves but also to the school staff.

4)   Most of these children have siblings or peers who have similar problems of adapting to the various situations in which society has placed them.

5)   Most of these children and/or their families have had contact with helping agencies prior to their contact with the juvenile justice system.

These problems can be described as a difficult socialization experience coupled with a highly frustrating and ego-damaging academic experience.

Even though the above characteristics are descriptive of the situation of most of these youths, there is no model which establishes these factors as being causal to delinquency. Rather, some research has demonstrated that the incidence of delinquent behaviour (both criminal and status offence) is widespread throughout the juvenile population. Furthermore, such research points out that the

majority of youth do not come into contact with the juve-
nile justice system to answer for their delinquencies.

The lack of a universally acceptable causal
model and the extended baseline of delinquency have
caused people to question traditional modes of dealing
with juvenile delinquency. Such questioning is further
reinforced by evaluating research which demonstrates that
most of the traditional approaches are ineffectual in pro-
ducing long term changes in behaviour patterns. It is
felt that the major underlying reason is that the tradi-
tional approaches do not aid the children to cope with
problems in their natural environments. Consequently, the
emphasis has now been placed on community based programmes.
However, it is not certain if even this new emphasis will
in fact produce any better results.

A basic sociological view of corrections must
be that society deals with deviance in a manner which
reflects its beliefs about the nature and cause of deviance.
In the absence of any scientifically valid theory of causal-
ity, one must assume that the popular Zeitgeist is based on
"naive realism" which may or may not be valid. However,
past history has shown that a society's response to deviance
is not of necessity valid or just. The issue here is that
any attempt at diversion or prevention can only be frag-
mentary without a careful examination of the total fabric
of society. For every programme there is a clear need to:

1) establish criteria of eligibility,

2) identify and mobilize extant resources,

3) determine the potential impact of new programmes
    on existing operational structures,

4) establish minimal standards of operation, and

5) provide some measure of quality control.

As a basic framework which would potentially
underline any programme in this area, the approach taken
by the Youth Development/Delinquency Prevention Project
seems most appropriate. Five propositions about delinquency
were put forth by Knight et al. (1974):

1) Delinquency does not exist without social
    definitions of rule-breaking sanctioned by
    potential or actual legal processes.

2) Most youth commit delinquent acts. Much
    delinquency is thus produced within "normal"
    patterns of behaviour.

3) Patterns of behaviour which produce serious
    or repetitive delinquency result from the
    breakdown of social ties ... the social bond ...
    between youths and conventional society.

4) That breakdown of the bond to society has two
    major components: (1) personal controls of
    the individual (commitment to conformity), and
    (2) features of social institutions ... family,
    education, work etc., ... which establish the
    key conditions for the attachment of young
    people to society.

5) Weak commitment to conformity is translated
    into delinquent acts because of situational
    opportunities and inducements.

The basic question which must be asked is,"In
what way are youth who came in contact with helping
agencies different from their age cohort?". In the final
analysis the answer would be couched in terms of quantity
rather than quality. The basic fact remains that many
changes in the system of the delivery of social services
have been proposed (Commission on Emotional and Learning
Disorders in Children). Few if any of the concepts pro-
posed were implemented. Therefore there is little hope
of any progressive change occurring. Too many vested
interests are at stake in the present system.

Merton has proposed that deviant behaviour
arises when there is a large discrepancy between aspira-
tions and the means to achieve these goals. The tradi-
tional response to deviance in an educational environment
is to attempt to raise motivation and aspirations in the
hope that deviance will then be diminished. It must be
noted that in most instances the means of achieving goals
are not altered. Moreover, increased aspirations may in
fact increase the problems the child is experiencing in
the family setting. The solution may be either to increase
the aspirations of the family rather than the aspirations
of the child, or to realign the child's aspirations with
achievable goals. In other words rather than attempting
to bend the child to fit the institution,the institution
should be bent to fit the child.

The problem of determining which, if any, of the
programmes implemented in one jurisdiction will work in
others is obscured by several issues:

1) lack of specificity of programme details;

2) lack of proper evaluation;

3) lack of any underlying theory for the programme;

4) the charisma of the individual programme directors.

It must be noted that many programmes that seemingly work, do so only because of the people involved, and because of the programme idea.

One of the basics which must be overcome is the tremendous counter-productive nature of the present system. Services are provided on a fragmentary and dis-jointed basis. There seems to be little rhyme or reason in who provides services, and when. Consequently, to external appearances it would appear that 'which agency provides which services to what child' is a totally random event.

The magnitude of the problem has been well documented elsewhere and the reader is encouraged to consult the following sources:

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II ASSESSMENT

A significant amount of effort in the whole area of children's services is devoted to "assessment". Often these processes occur in the absence of any theory or any object for the assessment. Without a specification of the goals of assessment, such a process must be seen as futile. In many instances the assessment proceedings are carried out without regard for the child's rights.

A. CHILDREN'S RIGHTS

Cruickshank (1974) has developed a statement of children's rights based on four basic needs of children. These needs were:

1) need for physical health and security;

2) need for emotional security and emotional and mental health;

3) need for education and support in making decisions;

4) need to be protected from arbitrary or unjust acts on the part of persons in positions of authority.

Within a delinquency stream these needs imply certain rights. These rights have to be remembered not only when assessing the child but also when an assignment to "treatment" is made. The following considerations should be kept in mind at all times:

1) The right to be free from exploitation or degrading treatment specifies limitations for any institution or treatment facility dealing with children. Both physical abuse, and psychological degradation, which is often found in evidence in "progressive" institutions (Mitford, 1971), are prohibited under these children's rights.

2) The right of parental support emphasizes the importance of attempting to maintain continuous contact between the child and his family. Many treatment programmes which needlessly remove the child from the home go counter to the right of continuity.

3) The right to adequate service to promote emotional and mental health states the right of a child to adequate treatment programmes designed to deal with the individual's emotional or mental health problems. NOTE: While this statement points out the necessity

of offering such treatment programmes to a child, it does not imply that the child must make use of the treatment.

4.a.)   The right to an appropriate education suggests that society should incorporate a greater range of educational opportunities to accommodate a wider range of individual needs. If a child's behaviour problems are specific to the public school system, it may be that the school is in fact not appropriate to the child's needs.

4.b.)   The right to adult guidance in making career choices suggests that if agencies of society are to replace a child's family, it must be prepared to help the child readjust to society (in the cases of institutionalization) or plan for future independence.

Children's rights differ from the rights of adults in that children are in a greater state of dependency for the fulfillment of their basic needs, and because there are needs specific to children (education, guidance, protection, security) as a result of their crucial stage of development. In deciding issues of children's rights, however, there are always many forces at work - the parents, the child, society, the child's state of maturity, the child's susceptibility to influence from others, etc.

With the emphasis on devising individualized treatment programmes within the judicial system, youths who have been convicted of similar crimes are not necessarily given equivalent punishment or treatment. This has led to extreme discrepancies with discrimination by social class, sex, race, etc., resulting from commonly held stereotypes about social causes of delinquency, different needs of female offenders, etc.

A strong argument has been put forward by Fox (1974) and Mitford (1971) among others, which suggests that society has the right to punish offenders, but does not necessarily have the right to enforce treatment on the offenders. With the treatment approach to juvenile delin- quents, most offenders have been coerced into various programmes. Fox points out that many modern treatment techniques (behav- iour modification, aversion therapy, drug therapy) are less humane than techniques of physical punishment which have long ago been abandoned. He argues that punishment will be more fair if it is called punishment than if it is disguised as part of a treatment.

B.   REACTIONS TO DELINQUENCY

Many of the problems of contravening children's rights follow as a direct result of the underlying philosophy

with which adults in authority approach the theory of delinquency, and deal with attempted solutions. If an adult believes that a delinquent is "sick", he may decide that therapists are more able than the child to decide what is to be done "in the child's best interests". The child would likely be forced into a treatment programme "for his own good". Taken a step further, in the interests of preventing the sickness of delinquency, attempts would be made to identify youths who are likely to become delinquent and they too may be coerced into treatment programmes. On the other hand, if an adult believes that a child is delinquent as a result of his social environment, attempts may be made to take the child out of a family which is considered to be exerting a bad influence. Attempts may be made to force treatment and change on a whole community.

Schur (1973) has outlined three reactions to delinquency: Individual Treatment, Liberal Reform, and Radical Non-Intervention. He has presented a summary of the assumptions, methodologies, and treatment related to each approach, in the form of a table (see Table 1).

C.   PREDICTING DELINQUENT BEHAVIOUR

Each of the three reactions to delinquency outlined calls for a different approach in attempting to predict who will perform delinquent acts - either from the general population, or from a population of delinquents (recidivism).

The individual treatment approach would use prediction as a method of singling out individuals for preventative treatment. Prediction would be based on characteristics of the individual.

The liberal reform approach would use prediction models to determine which aspects of the social environment are most important in producing delinquency, so that reforms can be brought in to effect changes where needed. Prediction would be based on characteristics of the family, community, environment, and the child.

The radical non-intervention approach would view the process of predicting delinquency as being partially to blame in aggravating the problem through labelling individuals.

Several problems must be considered with respect to predicting delinquent behaviour:

1)   Within the prediction model itself, problems of accuracy of prediction (includes: reliability of measure, validity of relationships between predictors and delinquency, generalizability of prediction model).

TABLE 1

REACTIONS TO DELINQUENCY

	INDIVIDUAL TREATMENT	LIBERAL REFORM	RADICAL NONINTERVENTION
Basic assumptions	*Differentness of offenders; delinquency a symptom; psychosocial determinism*	*Delinquency concentrated in lower class; individual constrained-particularly by subcultural pressures; social determinism*	*Delinquency widespread throughout society; basic role of contingencies; neo-antideterminism*
Favoured methodologies	*Clinical, comparison of matched samples*	*Analysis of rate variations; ecological analysis; study of subcultures*	*Self-reports; observation; legal analysis*
Focal point for research	*The individual*	*Social class; local community*	*Interaction between the individual and the legal system (and other agencies of reaction)*
Representative causal perspectives	*Psychodynamic theories; family-oriented theories*	*Anomie theories; cultural transmission; opportunity theory*	*Labelling analysis; drift and situational theories*
Prevention	*Identification of "pre-delinquents"; probation and counselling*	*Street gang work; community programmes; piecemeal socioeconomic reform*	*Deemphasis on singling out specific individuals; radical sociocultural change*
Treatment	*Therapy; training schools*	*Community programmes; improving conditions in institutions*	*Voluntary treatment*
Juvenile court	*"Individualized justice"; rehabilitative ideal*	*Better training and caseloads; more attention to social factors*	*Narrow scope of juvenile court jurisdiction; increased formalization*

2) In applying prediction models: since the base
    rate of official delinquency in the general
    population is quite low, prediction models tend
    to greatly overestimate the actual occurrence of
    delinquency. Therefore a large number of indi-
    viduals are put through treatment programmes,
    labelled as "pre-delinquents", etc., who would
    never have been considered delinquent had they been
    left alone.

3) Problems inherent in labelling a child as a pre-
    delinquent and therefore changing the behaviour
    and attitudes of others towards the child, and of
    the child towards himself. This is especially
    dangerous when the children labelled would greatly
    outnumber the children who would actually be delin-
    quent.

4) Much of the information collected for prediction
    models (personal history, family history and
    situation), could be considered an invasion of
    privacy.

The first two problems deal directly with the
accuracy of prediction. Looking at various methods of
prediction that have been applied in studies of juvenile
delinquency, it becomes evident that none of the methods
has been shown to have very great accuracy of prediction.

D. TREATMENT PROGRAMMES

The argument for separating treatment and punish-
ment is not meant to detract from the importance of treat-
ing those delinquents or youths who may benefit from any of
a variety of programmes. By removing treatment from the
realm of the juvenile courts, it is hoped that many of the
misuses of treatment programmes can be eliminated.

One important point under the radical non-inter-
vention approach is that treatment programmes should be
run on a strictly voluntary basis. By removing the punish-
ment and custodial aspects of the programmes, much more
freedom of choice could be allowed to the participants.
Many evaluations of mental health treatment programmes have
shown that the chance of success of most programmes is
remarkably increased when it is undertaken on a voluntary
basis. Much of the lack of success of many treatment pro-
grammes for juvenile delinquents could be due to the
involuntary nature of the programmes.

Prediction and Assessment

While the prediction of pre-delinquents may be
rejected because of the dangers of labelling, many of the

methods developed for predicting or assessing delinquents
may be incorporated into treatment programmes.

a) Psychiatric Assessment

While not all delinquents need to be con-
sidered "sick", some youths would likely benefit
from some type of psychiatric treatment. Psy-
chiatric assessment, would be useful in helping
to find an appropriate treatment model for these
youths.

b) Personality Testing

Personality classification has been shown to
be very useful in developing individualized treat-
ment programmes as in the case of the California
Community Treatment Project.

c) Statistical Prediction

Gottfredson (1967) discusses the possibility
of combining statistical and clinical prediction.
He suggests that the information made available
by statistical prediction models be provided to
the clinician who may then use this information to
make a more accurate prediction. The extra vari-
ables used by the clinician in making a diagnosis
may then be incorporated into the statistical
model, and so on.

If, keeping in mind the limitations of avail-
able statistical models, the prediction models
are used as one source of information, these models
may also be useful in designing treatment programmes.
Such models have some value in evaluating the effects
of treatment programmes in the absence of control
groups. The behaviour following treatment with
respect to the criterion variable can be compared
to the behaviour that would have been expected with-
out treatment using the prediction model.

The general thrust of these arguments is that
assessment (if and when required) should in some way conform
to some concept of differential treatment. In the field of
delinquency the I-level classification system is perhaps the
most highly developed.

E. SUMMARY OF "I-LEVELS" CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM

The "Interpersonal Maturity Level Classification
System" is one method of classifying juvenile offenders for
differential treatment programmes. This approach to treat-
ment and control of delinquents is based on two assumptions:

(1) delinquents are not all alike in the courses or the manifestations of their behaviour; (2) delinquents can be subdivided into types which have clearcut implications for the kinds of treatment required.

The theory on which the "I-Levels" is based holds that human development proceeds in a series of stages from infancy to maturity, each stage containing a core of psychological and interpersonal characteristics. A typology of stages has been developed. Each stage can be described by the manner in which members of each group perceive and respond to the world, and how they are perceived by others. "I-Levels" are the descriptions of behaviour and personality of each stage. This approach was developed by a group of psychologists and operationalized by the California Youth Authority's Community Treatment Project in 1961.

The original typology recognized seven stages of interpersonal maturity. Stages 2-4 were identified as being more predominant among delinquents. Within these three levels, nine sub-types were identified. Assignment of wards to levels and "subtypes" is based on semi-structured interviews by two research workers, lasting about 1½ hours. The workers, trained in the system, then classify the delinquents to their levels. Next a pattern of treatment is applied for the level and a worker assigned to each delinquent.

The three I-Levels predominant in the delinquent population (I-2 through I-4) and their nine sub-types are described as follows:

Maturity Level:

I$_2$ People at this level are concerned with demands that the world take care of them. Others are seen as "givers" or "withholders". A person at this level finds it difficult to explain, understand, predict behaviour or reactions of others. He behaves impulsively, unaware of the effects of his behaviour.

Aa - Asocial agressive - responds with active demands and open hostility when frustrated.

Ap - Asocial passive - responds with whining, complaining and withdrawal when frustrated.

I$_3$ Individuals at this level see others to be manipulated for their own gratification.

Cfm - Conformist, immature - responds with immediate compliance to whoever seems to have the power at the moment.

Cfc - <u>Conformist, cultural</u> - responds with
       conformity to specific reference group,
       delinquent peers.

Mp - <u>Manipulator</u> - attempts to undermine the
       power of authority.

I_4 Those at this level feel guilty about not
     measuring up to internalized ideals with con-
     sequent neurotic symptoms or anti-social behaviour.

Na - <u>Neurotic, Acting Out</u> - this person has
       investment in maintaining a negative image
       but is chronically anxious, and can't
       understand own behaviour.

Nx - <u>Neurotic, Anxious</u> - responds with symptoms
       of emotional disturbance to conflict produced
       by feelings of inadequacy and guilt.

Se - <u>Situational Emotional Reaction</u> - has fairly
       positive self-image but responds to family
       or personal crises by "acting out".

CI - <u>Cultural Identifier</u> - responds to deviant
       environment by internalizing the deviant
       values.

California's Assessment of Classification Programme:

The Community Treatment Project in California
represented an attempt to assess the treatment programme
which stemmed from the classification system described
above. This treatment programme placed emphasis on community-
based intensive and differentiated treatment.

The first assessment compared the impact of this
community-based treatment to that of the institutional
programmes for particular sub-groups of juveniles. A second
study made use of a control group composed of juveniles
released to the community, but not involved in the intensive
programmes. Effectiveness was judged on the basis of indices
relating to (1) parole criteria; (2) psychological changes;
(3) social adjustment in the community.

Results of these studies have shown more positive
results among those receiving community-based treatment
generally, and particularly those receiving the special
intensive treatment. The treatment group had parole suspended
later than the control group in the community. When suspended,
it was usually for a more serious offence. The treatment
group had 28.6% fail on parole during the 15 months after
release; the community controls had 47.7% fail in this time

period. Certain psychological tests showed a higher
level of adjustment among the treatment group.

Conclusions:

The strength of the "I-Levels" approach to
classification and treatment lies in the fact that it
introduces a frame of reference which permits grouping
of a variety of delinquent types in such a way that goals
and methods of treatment can follow from the definition
of the problem. The research project evaluating the treat-
ment programme has neither tested the theories on which the
"I-Levels" system is based nor the appropriateness of the
treatment applied to each level. It has demonstrated,
however, that for some types of youth the community programme
yields a more acceptable recidivism rate than does the
traditional programme.

Chief problems with this system lie in the relative
subjectivity involved in both the classification of indi-
viduals to "I-Levels" and the definition of what constitutes
appropriate treatment. Consideration of duplicating the
system in Ontario should take into account the necessary
training involved so that staff could classify consistently.
Further consideration would also be necessary around treat-
ment strategies, whether each strategy is feasible here and
whether it is deemed appropriate. The strength of this
classification system is the fact that it is not merely a
grouping process, but a treatment-oriented programme. It is
one possible alternative method of working with juveniles,
the details of which could be revised and adapted to a
variety of situations.

F. CONCLUSION

The model of or approach to delinquency, whether
medical, social or situational, greatly determines not
only the theoretical view of "the delinquent" but also the
response to the problem of delinquency. The medical model,
which views delinquency as a symptom of an emotional or
mental illness prescribes psychiatric assessment and indi-
vidual treatment of the delinquent by professionals to
"cure" him. The social or liberal view that a delinquent
is a product of his environment (social class, family
structure, peer group norms, etc.) would advocate any of
several approaches:

a) assessment of personality and family background;

b) prediction of "pre-delinquents" for treatment
    before they become delinquent;

c) treatment through changing norms coincide with
    acceptable (middle class) standards;

d)   treatment of family situation;

e)   some social reforms to improve living con-
     ditions of disadvantaged groups.

The situational approach rejects the view that
delinquents form an identifiable and separate population
from normals. Rather, it advocates dealing with those
who actually break laws (equivalent to laws for adults)
through confinement and restrictions if necessary to
protect society, but allowing for a greater diversity of
behaviour without forcing the label of 'delinquent' upon
young people. In this view, many of the young people now
classified as delinquents would be viewed as individuals
who may or may not be in need of assistance, treatment, etc.
While children should be ensured of their rights to a
healthy environment, protection, emotional security, guidance,
educational opportunities, and treatment for physical and
mental health problems, programmes providing for these
rights should not necessarily be forced upon the children.
Assessment which places labels of 'delinquent' or 'pre-
delinquent' on a child are viewed as an infringement of
the child's rights, since the process of labelling actually
causes many problems.

Prediction of delinquent behaviour through various
kinds of assessment (psychiatric, personality, statistical)
has been shown to have low reliability. The problems of
labelling and infringing on children's rights seem to far
outweigh any advantages in using such assessment in con-
nection with the judicial system in assigning punishment or
treatment on a differential basis.

California's Community Treatment Project does
provide an example of a good use of assessment techniques
(classification by I-Levels).

The assessment and various treatment programmes
used a general theory of personality types which would
differentiate the various sets of needs of the youths so
that different types of programmes could be developed to
deal with these needs. Evaluation of the programme with
respect to different types of youths also allows for a
clearer understanding of which kinds of programmes or which
types of workers are effective in treating different per-
sonality types.

In general, the best approach to treatment seems
to consist of two separate parts:

1)   Provision of a wide variety of treatment pro-
     grammes designed to fulfill the needs of an
     assortment of youngsters.

2)   Assessment of children designed to identify their
     needs in terms of the programmes available to aid in
     selecting for the youth the programme most likely
     to suit his individual needs.

ASSESSMENT

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III INTER-AGENCY CO-OPERATION

A recent emphasis within the entire area of dealing with disturbed and delinquent youth has been the fostering of inter-agency co-operation. Frequently the entire social services area has been described as overlapping, fragmentary or duplicating (CELDIC). Reid (1964) has developed a theory of co-ordination between agencies which is unmediated by external focus. In other words it is co-operative. Thus, the assumption must be that the agencies concerned must have common goals. Secondly, any co-operation must involve the exchange or transaction of resources.

Inter-agency co-operation can then be described in terms of the degree of resources exchanged:

1) ad hoc - or the individual practitioner level;

2) systematic case or co-ordination, individual cases are dealt with according to some specific rules;

3) programme co-ordination, the development of joint agency programmes.

Major difficulties have been observed in attempts to achieve such levels of co-ordination. The major single problem is the reluctance of individual agencies to accept the fact that co-operation is necessary and desirable. This problem usually emerges because individual agencies have defined their goals taking a narrow point of view or have taken a stance designed to protect their own self-interest. The point of view that co-operation may be disadvantageous to an individual agency does not necessarily mean that it is not advantageous for the community to foster such co-ordination. However it must be borne in mind that co-operation can only be achieved if the agencies concerned are motivated to co-operate.

A. MULTI-SERVICE BUREAUS

The Winnipeg Example:

Several Winnipeg Social Agencies co-operated to operationally integrate services at the practitioner level to increase the effectiveness of assistance to multi-problem families. Such families are typically inter acting with a variety of agencies, often with the result that no effective assistance can be achieved. The staff of the project were expected to reach out to these severely disorganized families and to provide 24-hour integrated services. A single social

worker would provide complete integrated services using
a family-centred approach to assist the family as a unit.
Welfare, child protection and correctional functions were
integrated. Thus, the individual worker provided services
untempered by jurisdictional boundaries. The social worker
himself carried out all the roles of the services which
have been delegated to the project rather than refer the
client to the agencies.

B. YOUTH SERVICE BUREAUS

The most common approach is to provide a central
co-ordinating agency rather than an integrated agency.
Such agencies typically assess the major presenting problem
and refer the client to the agency which provides the needed
services. The major difficulty is that multi-problem families
are still faced with multi-agency solutions.

The Youth Service Bureaus serve three major
functions:

1) as a service broker who

a) refers youth to the services it needs and

b) follows-up to ensure services are delivered;

2) as resource development which

a) encourages citizens to start new programmes and

b) encourages existing agencies to expand
services offered;

3) as system modifier which

a) attempts to change conditions that lead
to referrals.

The most extensive network of Youth Service Bureaus
has been established in California. The California experience
plus the experience of other YSB is that the client popula-
tion tends to be made up of primarily status offenders.

The California Example:

Youth Service Bureaus were first proposed by the
President's Crime Commission in 1967. YSB is a non-coercive,
independent public agency established to divert children and
youth from the justice system by promoting positive programmes
to parents and troubled youngsters to remedy delinquency-
breeding conditions. In America, the agencies can be funded
by either the State Delinquency Prevention Commission or the
Health and Welfare Planning Council.

The agencies are located, when possible, in
community centres to serve youths referred by the police,
the juvenile courts, parents, schools or other sources.
It is operated through the efforts of community residents,
professionals, private citizens and youth. Their goal is
to change those attitudes and practices of established
institutions that contribute directly or indirectly to
delinquent behaviour. These agencies act as central co-
ordinators of all existing community services for young
people and also provide services lacking in the community,
especially those designed for less delinquent juveniles.

Youth Service Bureaus make their services avail-
able to children 7 - 18 years of age, who (a) have been
referred to the justice system but for whom the authorita-
tive intervention of the court is not needed, and (b) who
have problems that might bring them within the jurisdiction
of the court. YSB is not a part of the justice system.

Referrals:

Most of the California Bureaus received a majority
of their referrals from agencies and especially schools.

One criterion this evaluation used to determine
whether diversion took place was whether or not local law
enforcement officers utilized the YSB by referring youth
to them. Police forces did not make full use of the YSB
services since there were roughly 1200 law enforcement
referrals in a two year period, an average of five law enforce-
ment referrals per month per Bureau. This was much less than
was anticipated. Twelve percent of the new clients in Fiscal
Year 1972 were law enforcement referrals. Together with
probation referrals, they did not constitute a majority of
the new referrals, as the President's Commission proposed.
However, it is still significant that law enforcement made
some use of the YSB by referring youth to them. Most youth
referred by law enforcement continued to participate in the
YSB voluntarily, with only one in ten refusing service or
dropping out in the first 3 months.

Effectiveness:

To determine the effectiveness of the Youth
Service Bureaus, two dimensions of analysis were used.
The first dimension was to review the arrest and probation
records of individual youth provided with service by the YSB
for a period of 6 months prior to referral to the YSB and
again 6 months after initial referral.

Of the 1340 YSB clients, fewer (278, 20.7%) were
arrested locally in the 6 months after Bureau referral than
in the 6 months before (214, 16%). Furthermore, more of
them were court wards after 6 months in the YSB (83, 6.2%)
than at YSB intake (17, 1.3%).

REFERRAL SOURCES TO CALIFORNIA YOUTH SERVICE BUREAUS

FISCAL YEAR 1971 and 1972

	July 1970 June 1971		July 1971 June 1972	
Total New Clients Served:	3126	100%	4749	100%
Referred to California YSB by:				
Agency	1585	50.7	2025	42.6
Law Enforcement	627	20.1	554	11.7
Probation	363	11.6	430	9.0
School	358	11.4	855	18.0
Other Agency	237	7.6	186	3.9
Individual	1540	49.3	2724	57.4
Self	993	31.8	1009	21.4
Parent	304	9.7	466	9.8
Other Individual	243	7.8	1249	26.3
Not Specific	1	(less than .1%)		

REASONS FOR REFERRAL TO CALIFORNIA YOUTH SERVICE BUREAUS
FISCAL YEAR 1971 and 1972

	July 1970 June 1971		July 1971 June 1972	
Total New Clients Served:	3126	100%	4749	100%
Reasons for Referral:				
Specific Offences	761	24.2%	692	14.6%
Person Offences	17	.5	24	.5
Property Offences	245	7.8	321	6.8
Drug Offences	336	10.7	196	4.1
Other Specific Offences	163	5.2	151	3.2
Delinquent Tendencies	1267	40.5%	1594	33.6%
Incorrigible	815	26.1	1029	21.7
Truancy	237	7.6	283	6.0
Runaway	179	5.6	253	5.3
Loitering, Curfew	36	1.2	29	.6
Dependent	10	.3	13	.3
Other Problems	1555	49.7%	3054	64.3%
Employment Problems	563	18.0	945	19.9
Health	456	14.6	894	18.8
(problem pregnancy)	(290)	(9.3)	(546)	(11.5)
(other health problems)	(166)	(5.3)	(348)	(7.3)
Emotional Problems	190	6.1	142	3.0
School Learning Problems	41	1.3	91	1.9
Welfare Problems	46	1.5	18	.4
Miscellaneous	259	8.3	964	20.3
No Response			8	.2
Average Number of Reasons for Referral	1.1		1.1	

The other dimension was to study trends in all arrests and dispositions in the service areas and trends in initial probation referrals and dispositions for all youth living in the Bureau service areas. It appears that some of the youth would not have been recommended for probation referral if additional services were available in the community. Considerably fewer arrests were referred to probation in the majority of areas with YSB and where data were available. Also, there were substantial reductions in initial referrals of local youth to probation. Local youth living in the Bureau service areas and referred to probation for the first time by local police registered the greatest decrease in the years following the Bureaus' establishment.

Service area data show that the most dramatic diversion of juveniles from justice system processing was from probation intake among youth with three characteristics: (i) not already on probation, (ii) residents of the bureau service area, and (iii) referred to probation by the Bureau area's local police. In the three Bureau areas where data were available, initial probation referrals of Bureau area youth decreased between 45% and 60% in 2-3 years.

Even though not every service area showed a reduction in delinquency, the weight of the evidence is balanced on the side of delinquency reduction and diversion from the justice system.

While justice agencies in the service areas did not refer all diverted youth to the Bureaus, these agencies began to handle youth in trouble differently. Thus, the presence of a YSB appears to affect youth other than those whom it serves directly.

There are several drawbacks which exist within the concept of Youth Service Bureaus. The most critical is that no great innovations are evident in the delivery of services to youth. As long as traditional paradigms of service delivery are used, traditional problems will become evident. Moreover, under the aegis of the YSB many children are put in contact with social agencies who have no real need, and whose problems would never have required assistance. Rebellion and foolish actions are part of growing up and not necessarily a characteristic of pre-delinquency. The inability to predict who in fact will become delinquent forces YSB to deal with all youths who show any signs of potential problems. In some communities close to half of the juvenile population at one time or another come into contact with a YSB. The concepts of service brokerage and advocacy on behalf of troubled youth are commendable. However, care must be taken to ensure that only those who truly need these services receive them. However, the problem remains that many youth who become adjudicated delinquents start off on their careers of delinquency with status offences. Therefore, some care must be taken to balance the needs of children and the needs of the community.

C. PHILADELPHIA NEIGHBOURHOOD YOUTH RESOURCE CENTER

One of the weaknesses of the concept of YSB
is that these agencies provide services primarily in
the evaluation and referral areas. Generally very little
takes place in the areas of direct client contact and
client advocacy. One project has attempted to go beyond
these limitations. The Philadelphia Neighbourhood Youth
Resource Center (NYRC) integrated the role of YSB. However,
a rigorous attempt is made to ensure that other agencies
actually deliver their service to NYRC youth and their
families. Both the clients and the receiving agency are
prepared for the referral, with the receiving agency being
held accountable for the services offered. Through this
active participation the NYRC has encouraged change in
many concepts of traditional service delivery. Social
agencies and institutions have been forced to orient more
towards the targeted client population.

The prime role of the NYRC is to provide direct
service and thereby the NYRC accepts responsibility for
client youth. Programme segments that are offered by
the NYRC include individual and group counselling, rec-
reational programme, job placement services, tutorial services,
drug counselling and family life education groups.

The project was organized under the aegis of an
established agency which was greatly respected in the com-
munity. This agency had a long history of running boys'
and girls' clubs, day care programme and other youth-oriented
projects. In effect the NYRC operates as a Community Centre
and through this facility offers its services. Project Staff
are drawn from the target area of the project and all are
familiar with local youth problems. Non-traditional staff
of local origin and their commitment to direct service and
advocacy increase the commitment of the programme to youth.

An alternative model for the integration of com-
munity resources is the Youth Development/Delinquency
Prevention Project carried out in California. The resources
brought to bear include formal agencies, community groups,
community residents and youth themselves. The prime emphasis
is to develop youth opportunities and roles likely to provide
deeper commitment to non-delinquent behaviour. The project
has assumed that deviant behaviour is caused or reinforced
by the exclusion of youth from roles which integrate young
people into social institutions. The general approach was
organized on the assumption that many youth problems are
compounded by unresponsive social institutions. Thus, in
addition to linking up community resources for youth an
attempt was made to foster access to institutional roles.

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IV DAY CARE ATTENDANCE CENTRES

These programmes follow a variety of paradigms. Essentially, they can be classified according to the following dichotomies:

1) full day/afternoon-evening
2) academic experience/work experience

Critical features of these programmes are:

1) small staff - client ratios (maximum caseloads of 25 usually 12);
2) stress on peer group interaction;
3) remedial tutoring or meaningful work experience;
4) stress on "non-traditional" staff;
5) intensive after-care;
6) family involvement in an attempt to keep the family intact.

In most cases children are placed in the programme as a condition of probation and in an attempt to divert these children from institutional settings. Programmes have been established for both first offenders and for repeated probation violators.

Non-traditional staff are seen as a major feature of many of these programmes. Such staff are selected to represent a wide variety of experiences and may or may not be professionally trained. A special criterion is that these staff are action-oriented and dedicated to their job. The basic ideal which is fostered is that service to the clients is much more important than service to the system and agencies. Therefore, staff should be available to the client when they are needed, and are willing to act as advocates for the client.

The educational activities are directed at the acquisition of basic learning skills as well as basic survival skills. The work experiences vary from volunteer work for which small stipends are paid, to regular employment experiences. In fact many programmes in the U.S. are funded as part of more extensive job retraining projects.

The basic feature of these programmes must be small size with rarely more than 20 individuals in the active phase of the programme at any one moment. These small numbers enable small caseloads and foster intensive staff-student relationship.

A. DAY CARE FOR JUVENILE DELINQUENTS (SAN MATEO)

The girls' day care programme, which began in September, 1965, in San Mateo, includes two classrooms, a large meeting room furnished like a living room, a lunchroom, and a large courtyard. Two full-time teachers are employed to provide individualized instruction and remedial work. Four probation officers are assigned to the programme, each carrying caseloads of 6 day care and 6 aftercare girls.

To qualify for the programme, a girl must have sufficient mental ability to benefit from the schooling, and have a parent (or parental substitute) willing to work with the staff in dealing with the girl's problems. Most of the girls involved have had truancy problems and were doing poorly in public school. All have been tried on routine probation and have failed.

The programme functions from 8:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., five days a week, plus Saturday field trips. After 6 months on the day care programme, a girl may graduate to the after care programme and return to public school for another 6 months probation period.

Seventy-one participants had completed the programme after its first three years of operation. Forty-one of the 71 graduates had been immediately dismissed from wardship, 14 had been transferred to field supervision (with 5 subsequently discharged), 2 had been transferred to the subvention unit for intensive supervision, and 14 had been placed in foster homes or institutions. Only 3 of the 41 who were dismissed from wardship and 6 of the 14 who were transferred to field supervision had any subsequent police contact, most of those being for status offences (running away).

B. THE CREGIER OUTPOST

The Cregier Outpost is a non-residential facility offering classes between 8:45 a.m. and 2:30 p.m., on a daily basis. Participation is voluntary but school attendance is reinforced by a quasi-behaviour modification system. The maximum duration of the programme is one year. The programme staff are "non-traditional" and the students are below the expected achievement levels for their age. The Outpost is seen as an educational alternative. In addition to remedial education individual and group counselling are provided. Staff are available when they are needed by the students.

The programme has been operating since September, 1970. From that time until January of 1974, only 19 of the 135 (14%) of the youth involved in the programme engaged in further delinquency.

C. GUIDED GROUP INTERACTION

A special case of the day care paradigm is centred around guided group interaction (GGI). GGI is an intensive group therapy model. Children participate in daily sessions which last about 90 minutes. The basic focus is to develop a non-delinquent culture in the group. The participants are encourged to honestly discuss and share their problems. The sessions are designed to form a pressure group to inculcate conventional values, and to reinforce conventional behaviour.

GGI is concerned with peer group dynamics. In fact the day care programmes evolved out of the residential programmes such as "Highfield" and "Criswell House". GGI programmes involve the delinquent in frequent and intensive group discussions of their own and other group members' problems. As the group dynamic evolves the youths are allowed greater autonomy.

Examples of non-residential programmes using GGI are the Provo Experiment, Essexfield and Collegefield. A special case of the GGI programme is Positive Peer Culture (PPC). PPC has been used in a variety of residential and non-residential settings with great success. In fact PPC has been used in community school settings to stabilize otherwise explosive situations.

The Provo Experiment:

Basic Principle

Delinquents are aware of conventional standards and they have been socialized in an environment dominated by middle-class morality. They turn to illegitimate means in an attempt to be successful. They are profoundly ambivalent about their delinquent behaviour. In order to cope with respectable norms, they maintain a series of intricate rationalizations to neutralize their delinquent behaviour. Treatment has to be directed towards the intrinsic nature of their membership in the delinquent system.

Basic Philosophy

A treatment system will be most effective if the delinquent peer group is used as a means of perpetuating the norms and imposing the sanctions of the system. The peer group should be seen as the primary source of help and support. One of the programme's key tools, peer group interaction, is believed to provide a considerably richer source of information about boys and delinquency than do clinical methods. Protection and rewards provided by the treatment system for candor must exceed those provided either

by delinquents for adherence to delinquent roles or by
officials for adherence to custodial demands.

Basic Programme

Phase I of treatment is an intensive group pro-
gramme in which the delinquent peer group is the principle
instrument for change. It involves hard work, group dis-
cussion, 3 hours per day, 5 days a week. The summer pro-
gramme lasts all day. Phase II is designed to aid boys after
release from Phase I. This involves community action to
help the boy find employment and is an attempt to maintain
some reference group support for him.

The overall treatment system described is like
all other special systems in that it specifies generalized
requirements for continued membership in the system. At
the same time, however, it also legitimizes the existence
of a sub-system with it - the meeting - which permits the
discussion and evaluation of happenings and feelings which
may or may not support the overall normative structure of
the larger system. This system receives not only official
sanction but grants considerable power and freedom to delin-
quent members. By permitting open expression, it removes
social psychological support for complete resistance to a
realistic examination of the utility of delinquent versus
conventional norms.

Essexfield:

Essexfield is a direct offshoot of Highfield and,
in fact, the first group at Essexfield were a group of High-
field boys. The programme works on the assumption that it
is necessary to create a setting which encourages the devel-
opment and maintenance of a Conventional Social System.
Boys progress through the programme in groups of ten, and
at any one time there are no more than 20 boys. Participa-
tion in the programme is from 7:00 a.m. to 10:00 p.m. daily.
The boys work during the day on the grounds of a County
Mental Health Hospital, and take part in group session during
the evening.

Collegefield:

Similar to Provo and Essexfield, Collegefield
was directed at a younger population. Boys 14 and 15 years
old participated. Instead of working the boys attended
school in the morning, and had their group session in the
afternoon. The programme was offered between 7:30 a.m. and
5:00 p.m. daily. The major goal was to alter the educational
experience of these boys. Therefore the academic programme
was directed at the acquisition of educational skills and
the necessary attitude for successful school achievement.

DAY CARE

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V THE EDUCATIONAL RESPONSE

In many instances the school has been made the prime focus in an attempt to deal with youth problems. This plan of action is based on the premise that next to the family the school is the most significant social institution in the child's life. In some situations the school is seen as a panacea for most youth problems. This view only exaggerates the relegation of socializing functions to educational authorities. The role which school must play in a modern industrialized society is immense; however, one social institution cannot be expected to solve all social problems. Many delinquent youth are problems in the school environment not so much because the school has failed, but because the family has failed to give the child adequate support.

The critical feature is that school, rather than integrating youth into the surrounding community, tends to isolate them in an artificial environment. The educational system generally does little to systematically prepare youth to live in the community at large, and in fact, seems to fulfill the needs of only a narrow range of youth[1]. Another major problem is the low level of tolerance exhibited by educators towards deviance. Furthermore, teachers refer students to specialists within the school system. The diagnoses of the children's problems tend to be magnified. However, the stark realities are that much diagnosing occurs but relatively little treatment. The problem of integrating large numbers of problem children into a conventional school system can sometimes be overcome by the use of special schools, such as the "600" and "700" schools of New York City.

Disruptive children are referred to special units within the school system which are designed to deal with school problems. There are several difficulties with such an approach. One is that often they represent a futile attempt to solve a problem which is already out of hand. Moreover, large concentrations of deviant children create special problems of their own. Many of the problem behaviours are defined in a legal context rather than a educational context. Often such attempts will fail because little effort is made to integrate parents into the problem solving equation.

One project which seems to have evolved a successful programme is the Providence Educational Centre. Several unique features differentiate such projects from other less successful attempts.

A. PROVIDENCE EDUCATIONAL CENTRE

The basic premise underlying the Providence Educational Centre's (PEC) programme is that the long-term

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1. CELDIC, 1970.

rehabilitation of delinquents is contingent on the development of those skills needed to experience success in school, in their family, in social relationships and on the job.

Specifically, PEC's goals are:

1) to reduce street crime among those students enrolled in PEC;

2) to reduce truancy and improve educational skills, especially in reading;

3) to engage students in a therapeutic programme which will rehabilitate them by developing a more positive self-concept and thus increase social adjustment;

4) to work with parents of all students, and to orient each youth towards a successful placement in public schools, vocational schools, employment.

Eligibility Criteria:

The PEC programme is directed at boys between 12-16 years of age who were charged with stranger-to-stranger crimes and who had histories of poor academic achievement and social failure. He must have had prior involvement with the Juvenile Court and be under the active supervision of a Deputy Juvenile Officer and/or a caseworker. He cannot be either seriously emotionally disturbed, retarded or severely handicapped. He must be functioning on a "pre-high school achievement level" in reading (less than 8th grade). The referring agent, parent and child must agree to an ongoing and active involvement with the programme. PEC began accepting female referrals in June, 1974.

Programme:

The diagnostic process used by PEC (including review of case history materials, the use of objective tests to determine the level of mathematical functioning of students and their reading comprehension and language abilities) yields information on learning style, methods of relating and modes of adjustment. This allows the classroom team of 2 teachers and 1 social worker to develop an individualized treatment plan in the following 5 areas of social and educational objectives for each student.

1) The Individual: his self-image and self-assessment.

2) The Peer Group: his ability to relate to and the kinds of relationships formed with his delinquent peers and on the content of such relationships.

3) The Family: his relationships with other family members, especially parents, and the ability to function within and productively contribute to the family.

4) The Community: the avoidance of further juvenile and adult offences, stability in public school attendance and performance or stability in employment.

5) The Educational System: his performance and achievement in subject areas (mathematics, reading, arts etc.), attendance and classroom behaviour.

Each youth is required to review and assess his progress on a monthly basis to ensure that he has a clear understanding of what is expected of him and to give him a sense of success and accomplishment in those areas where he has made significant progress. At the end of each month, each student's Treatment Plan is reviewed and updated by the classroom team. Formally scheduled bi-monthly meetings are tailored to address particular concerns of the team by sharing information among team members and by bringing in other professionals who are playing a significant role in the student's life.

All those who are professionally involved with a student therefore have the same information about him, understand what roles each can and should play in implementing the Treatment Plan, and have a common course of action.

Educational Component:

There are 6 features in PEC's programme and approach that specifically contribute to PEC's ability to achieve its educational aims. They are:

1) Small classes of around 12 students per class. The student to teacher ratio averages about 6 to 1.

2) Non-departmental approach. In order to enhance the teacher-student relationship by constant contact, a variety of subjects are taught by 1 or 2 teachers for each classroom rather than a teacher specializing in one particular subject area.

3) Ungraded classes. The student is only in competition with himself and not other students nor arbitrary standards for his age or grade.

4) Non-traditional curriculum development. Teachers are encouraged to formulate problems that are both

realistic and of significant interest to the
class, such as using materials that show Black
children and families, or that are about cities
and low income neighbourhoods since that is the
milieu in which most of these students live.

5) An emphasis on fundamental skills. As well as
basic standard courses, the students may enroll
in various shop courses, physical education and
extra-curricular activities such as the uncensored
student newspaper and student council.

6) Individual instruction. Instruction in the core
subjects (reading, language, arts, arithmetic) is
tailored to meet the specific needs of each indi-
vidual student and to be consonant with each
student's style of learning and rate of develop-
ment, while non-core subjects are taught to the
group.

Social Service Component:

Group Counselling is scheduled during one 45-60
minute period each week for each class of 12 students.
Individual Counselling sessions are generally only ½ hour
in length and they also occur once a week.

The social worker in each classroom team is pri-
marily responsible for maintaining liaison with each student's
family. The social worker contacts parents when a child is
absent from class, makes regular monthly visits to inform
the parents of the students progress and offers counselling
and services when necessary. The school counsellor acts as
a liaison with agencies that may provide services needed by
enrolled and graduating students.

Aftercare Component:

The Aftercare component is responsible for help-
ing to assure that each student's transition from PEC back
into the public school or employment and the general com-
munity is successful. Contact is maintained with the students
for 6 months to one year.

PEC's staff requests court approval for graduat-
ing students who were initially admitted as a condition of
their probation. The court may (1) disapprove, (2) permit
graduation with continued probation, or (3) permit gradu-
ation and terminate probation.

Programme Effectiveness:

The distribution of monthly changes in Math and
Reading in the WRAT Test Scores would indicate the progress
of these youth.

Distribution of Monthly Change in Math and Reading Wrat Test Scores:

Monthly Rate of Grade Change	Math	Reading
Increase of 0.20 or more	51%	29%
Increase of 0.10 to 0.19	16%	19%
Increase of less than 0.09	33%	52%

A monthly increase of 0.10, if continued for a school year, was equivalent to a full year's gain in achievement and a monthly increase of 0.20 was equivalent to a gain of 2 full years of achievement if continued for the same period. The data indicated that average monthly achievement in mathematics is highest during a students first few months in the programme and then decrease rapidly. The average monthly gains in reading levels seem to continue at approximately the same rate.

The truancy rate among students one year prior to enrolment was 55%. During enrolment the truancy rate decreased to 16.4%. This rate increased again after placement in public high schools. In view of the fact that public schools only consider inexcused absences as truancies and that PEC counts all absences, statistics underestimate PEC's accomplishment in reducing truancy.

Three quarters (73.5%) of the graduates were able to pass the eighth grade equivalency test. Of the 9 students (26.5%) who did not pass 8 were placed in high schools on the recommendation of staff after considering test scores, achievement levels and degree of social maturity.

B. SCHOOL COMMUNITY OFFICERS

A programme of special note is described by Cressey (1973). Full-time probation officers were assigned to local school districts. The purpose was to deal with children identified as likely pre-delinquents before any contact with law enforcement agencies. Children either came voluntarily seeking help or were referred by school officials. The problems dealt with ranged from involvement with drugs to truancy. If the probation officers (School Community Officers) could not deal with the problem within a short period of time the child was referred to another helping agency. The problem here is that the probation officer seems to be taking over some of the functions of the school guidance counsellor.

C. THE REAL PROBLEM

It must be borne in mind that children who have difficulties in the educational environment come from families

which have minority group affiliations or are economically
disadvantaged. Professor T. Ryan of Carleton University
has demonstrated that in many instances middle-class children
are significantly superior, on many intellectual measures,
to lower class children by the time these children have
reached minimal verbal fluency. As a solution to this prob-
lem Dr. Ryan has proposed that the lower class parents be
taught the parenting skills of the middle-class parent, and
particularly those skills that enhance intellectual develop-
ment. In his opinion it is not the effort that is lacking
but the requisite skills. This plan is particularly cogent
in view of the fact that many "Headstart" programmes failed
because parents were not integrated into the programme as
participants.

A different tactic taken in California is the Los
Angeles Delinquency Control Project. The major thrust of
this project was to increase the level of supervision and
services offered. At the time that this project was evalu-
ated there was no specific algorithm of services; rather
the emphasis was more of the same. The outstanding result
was that this approach did not have any positive results.
It is offered in this paper as an example of the need for
timely innovative programming.

D. COMMUNITY DELINQUENCY CONTROL PROJECT

The programme was confined to male Juvenile Court
admissions, between the ages of 13-18 years at the time of
commitment to the Youth Authority and who resided during
their parole experience in high delinquency areas of the
city. Other criteria were that their most recent offence
be of a non-violent nature and that local law enforcement
agencies did not object to their immediate release to the
community.

Method:

The project research design called for random
assignment to two kinds of parole over a period of two years.
Those released to the C.D.C.P. units were the experimentals
(N=180) and those released to the regular parole programme
were the comparison group (N=121).

The rehabilitative techniques of the C.D.C.P.
programme included: intensive individual and family counsel-
ling, group counselling, foster and group home placement,
organized centres for recreational activities and community
outings, temporary detention for limit-setting and/or pro-
tection, a school tutorial programme with a credentialed
teacher in the project, and agent-employer and agent-school
liaison services.

The average caseload per agent was 25 wards. There
were 2 centres utilized for the experimental group, Watts

(a group-oriented approach) and Jefferson (an individual treatment approach).

Results:

There was no significant difference between the experimental and regular parole programme in either project area (Jefferson or Watts) on any of the parole performance criterion measures (i.e., parole outcome, reason for revocation, time of revocation or unfavourable discharge and severity of revocation offence; level of significance = .05).

On the basis of having their parole revoked within 15 months, the Watts comparison group did somewhat better than the Watts C.D.C.P. group, while the Jefferson experimentals did somewhat better than their comparison group.

Of those arrested (about 3/4 of the entire study) a significantly higher proportion of the experimentals of both areas had multiple arrests during the 15 month period. This may be partially explained by the fact that significantly higher proportions of the comparison groups of the two areas were revoked by the Youth Authority Board following their first police arrest. Thus they had no opportunity to be re-arrested. There was no significant difference between the experimentals and the comparison groups on severity of the first offence.

Four factors all pertaining to the community were significantly related to parole success of the Watts experimentals. These were: having non-delinquent friends, having some employment, having a concerned adult (parole agent) intercede with employers and participation in organized community outings of a cultural, social or recreational nature.

Parole success of the Jefferson experimentals was attributed to the following factors: having non-delinquent friends, never opposing a group leader (agent) in group counselling, and having more than one parole agent during a 15 month period.

There was a tendency for ward exposure to a "group-oriented" approach to treatment to be associated with parole failure in the Watts programme (significant at the .10 level).

EDUCATIONAL RESPONSE

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VI FAMILY COUNSELLING

A recent thrust in dealing with disturbed children entails family counselling. In fact this modality of therapy attempts to teach parents to deal more effectively with their children. Thus the goals of such programmes (Tavormina, 1974) are:

a) helping parents become more familiar with basic concepts of child growth and development;

b) helping them (parents) clarify their own role and that of their children;

c) increasing parental undertaking of the complex-ities of everyday situations to enable them to make better management decisions.

Two basic counselling models have emerged which deal with families. One emphasizes feelings, the other stresses behaviour. In the first the emphasis is placed on parental awareness, understanding and acceptance of the child's feelings. Such therapies use feelings to affect not only the child's behaviour, but also the parent-child interaction. The second approach seeks to teach parents to manipulate their child's behaviour. In a recent review (Tavormina, 1974) of studies which evaluated the two approaches the conclusion was made that both techniques seem to be equally effective.

Observations of the interactions of families with-in various settings have shown several common characteristics in all disturbed families (Jacob, 1975; Alexander, 1973). The characteristics of such families are conflict, dominance, affect and communication clarity. Therefore, no matter what treatment technique is adapted the "therapist" or "counsellor" must require certain basic skills.

Family therapists must be able to recognize inter-actions and transactions in a family and be able to describe them. Objectives of therapy must be specified in such terms that there are clear expectations against which progress can be described and measured. Such clarity, even if essential is difficult to achieve. In terms of family therapy the therapeutic contact depends on the degree to which family members can perceive their own behaviour as contributing to the family's difficulties. Therefore the therapist must be able to describe not only the interactions and transactions within the family but must be able to describe them as they affect each family member. Such abilities require a sig-nificant degree of training and skill.

The increasing use of non-professionals in all areas of social service has placed greater emphasis on techniques which can be used by such people. Moreover, in many situations the child's behaviour has led to a crisis in the fabric of the family. Therefore in many instances the behavioural approach has been favoured. The techniques involved are relatively easy to master and can be supplemented by other therapies.

In a recent review O'Dell (1974) reviewed 70 articles that employed behaviour modification principles to assist parents in dealing with their children. Training techniques varied from lectures to modelling, to making the parent a member of the treatment team. O'Dell was not able to describe which training modality was more effective.

A very promising treatment technique in this area has been developed by Bruce Parson and James Alexander. Family System Intervention was applied with a high degree of success. An abstract of one of their reports is presented below.

A. FAMILY SYSTEMS INTERVENTION

In discussing family therapy or family intervention, the underlying theory is that the deviance of adolescents is mostly learned in the natural environment. Therefore, intervention should take place in this natural environment to discourage the learning of new anti-social behaviours. The focus of family intervention is on "delinquent families" and not on "families of delinquents".

Families operate as interdependent systems which involve certain interaction patterns based on reciprocity and feedback. In maladaptive interaction processes, more defensive communications are expressed than supportive communications. These defensive communications consist of verbal and extraverbal behaviour that threaten or are punishing to others; while supportive communications lower anxiety, give clearer communications, and offer more productive interactions in and among others. Normal families reciprocate supportive communications, while abnormal families only weakly display reciprocity and then only for defensive communications. The result then is that in abnormal or delinquent families, the interdependence of communication centres around system-disintegrating processes as opposed to the integrating processes characteristic of normal families.

Furthermore, in the abnormal families, the damaging interaction processes can be specified and affected through a family intervention programme. This programme would help to develop an understandable environment in which the family could deal with one another by stimulating reciprocity and periods of positive reinforcement. By focussing on these communication processes, a family intervention

programme would train families in effective problem-solving techniques which would help family systems to adjust to stress (adolescence) in ways comparable to normal families. Elements which are crucial to unambiguous communication have been listed as:

1) brevity
2) directness
3) source responsibility
4) presenting alternatives
5) congruence
6) concreteness and behaviour specificity
7) interruptions and feedback.

In the practice, the intervention model consists of a 2 to 6 week programme (5-12 sessions) and always involves the referred delinquent, his parent(s) and often additional elements of the family. The intervention programme has three functions:

1) Tertiary prevention (modification): to modify identified maladaptive processes to match those of normal families.

2) Secondary prevention (impact): to reduce existing cases of disability in the population.

3) Primary prevention (long-range effect): to reduce the incidence of new cases of disability in the population.

It was found that a short-term behaviourally-oriented family intervention programme positively affected family interaction processes, resulting in less silence, more equality of speech, and greater frequency of positive interruptions as found in normal families. Intervention programmes also reduced recidivism rates since the therapy increased the maladaptive families' ability to resist the harmful consequences following the experience of a negative event. In the long-range, family intervention furthermore produces a lower incidence of sibling delinquency in families which received therapy than was found in other study groups.

Another possible outcome of treatment (intervention) is excommunication or system break-up. Many theorists or therapists aim to reinstate "the pre-crisis equilibrium" or modify "maladaptive interaction patterns" when the time of stress arises (i.e., adolescence), while few consider the alternate approach of helping the family to adapt to the separation process that adolescence or growing up entails. Furthermore, many family systems are being maintained while some family members are not in fact benefitting from that system.

While homeostasis (maintenance of the family
system status quo) may be viewed as a desired goal for
successful treatment by some theorists, the extreme form
of this is destructive and is typified by the schizophrenic
family. This system is marked by closedness and inflex-
ibility where very much older children (18-50 years) are
still "at home" and cooperating with the other family
members to maintain the system. The interactions which
perpetuate this destructive system are called repetitive
negative interaction rituals (NIR'S) and these are iden-
tifiable and countable. With a high frequency of NIR'S
within a family system, that system will move towards being
a more closed system, or having higher degrees of pathology.

Family intervention then would determine to what
degree NIR'S are produced in the family system. Should
certain NIR'S be discovered, a more efficient treatment
approach would be to encourage system break-up, by removing
(excommunicating) the individual responsible for most of
the variance of NIR production. Excommunication, though,
should be very carefully considered for only those families
which do not change and which still produce NIR'S despite
clinical assistance.

To maximize family intervention effectiveness,
it is important to better select and train potential thera-
pists. It was found among therapists, that relationship
skills, such as therapist sensitivity (ability to integrate
affect into assessment and modification and ultimately,
reciprocal behavioural contracts) made a most significant
contribution to outcome variance. Structuring skills
(directiveness, clarity, etc.) on the other hand, had been
'homogenized' among therapists in the training phase and
therefore did not contribute to outcome variance. Although
it is important for the therapist to be knowledgeable of
the intervention techniques in order for the therapy pro-
gramme to be effective, the therapist process characteristics
also have major effects on the results of the application of
those techniques.

FAMILY COUNSELLING

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VII GROUP HOMES

A. DEFINITION

A group home is usually a large house owned or
rented for a correctional programme and operated by house
parents (often a married couple who may or may not be pro-
fessionally trained) plus additional maintenance staff.
While most staff are hired on a weekly, salary basis, the
house parents usually live in. The juveniles living in the
house have twenty-four hour supervision. In some programmes
the children live in the home only during the week, so that
they may visit family or friends on the weekend. The home
may accommodate anywhere from about 4 to 20 children, usually
ranging in age from 8 to 18, with the most common age range
between 15 and 18 years of age.

The group home supposedly allows for closer personal
supervision than a large institution, with fewer restrictions,
but usually less of a family atmosphere than a foster home.
The home is usually situated within the community (either a
middle-class community or a community with a high density of
juvenile delinquents) with an attempt to keep it close to
the juvenile's home. Often the children are involved in
various programmes within the community, the most common
being school attendance. In addition to this, there may be
an active treatment programme within the group home itself.

B. RATIONALE

The group home offers less disruption in life
style than an institution. Furthermore, the rehabilitation
of the youth is relevant to the community by allowing him/
her to maintain contact with the community. House parents
are able to direct the formation of the group social system
and can monitor changing behaviour and attitudes. The
treatment of the individual is directed through responsibility
to and with the group. By having closer staff-youth relation-
ships, greater control over the treatment programmes is
created.

C. PROGRAMMES

Youth in school programmes are given extra instruction
in poorer school subjects, with an emphasis on school atten-
dance and school work. Reinforcement is contingent on
school behaviour and grades. Trade training courses are
available in the community.

Group therapy (guided group interaction) is given
during the work through intense discussion groups which
discuss and share problems. Conventional values and behaviour

are reinforced with the help of pressure from the group.
Behaviour is evaluated and further decision-making is
participated in.

Behaviour modification is used to affect specific
behavioural problems. Positive (token economy, social
reinforcement) or negative reinforcement is used to change
behaviour.

D. EXPERIMENTAL PROJECTS

I. Three Local Programmes in Mid-West USA (Handler, 1975):

1) Description

All three programmes mainly treated juveniles
from the surrounding community (cities of popula-
tion 50,000 - 150,000). Control of the programmes
was based in the community and participation by
members of the community was encouraged. Each pro-
gramme accommodated between 20 and 50 children,
with at least one professionally trained staff
member (psychologist or social worker). The names
given each programme in the report are fictitious.

2) Programmes

a) "Children's Centre". The "Centre" treated
mainly pre-delinquent children (runaway, etc.)
through sophisticated behaviour modification tech-
niques. The stay averaged 3 to 4 months. One
problem with this programme was a lack of control
over programming or administration of follow-up
service after discharge.

b) "Teen Place". The stay averaged about 5 months.
The staff handles follow-up after discharge with a
planned programme to gradually diminish contacts
with children and parents.

c) "Yule Farm". The stay averages over one year.
The programme is variable to fit the needs of the
individual with an emphasis on strong student
government and student input into the design of the
programme. The staff provides guidance before and
after discharge, with a system of graduated release.

3) Evaluation

a) "Children's Centre". Compared to the control
group, "Children's Centre" participants are lower
on positive scores (eg., school attendance) and
higher on negative scores (juvenile and criminal
contacts, institutional placement, etc.) in follow-
up study.

b) "Teen Place". The before-after study shows
an overall improvement in "Teen Place" partici-
pants but a comparison with the control group
favours the control group in the follow-up study.
This improvement could be due only to maturation.

c) "Yule Farm". Before the beginning of the
project, the control group looks more favourable,
but after completion of it, the "Yule Farm" grcup's
performance is as good as or better than the control
group on arrests and convictions. Those children
who do not complete the programme show the least
success in positive measures.

4) Summary

Some of the important variables distinguishing
the apparently successful "Yule Farm" project from
the apparently unsuccessful "Children's Centre" and
indeterminate "Teen Place" programmes are:

i)   length of stay (longer stay more effective);

ii)   flexibility of treatment programme (should
be geared to needs of the individual);

iii) involvement of students in programme and decision
making (more active involvement is more effective);

iv)   follow-up after discharge (should help in read-
justment to family life);

v)   type of problem with which children enter
project (pre-delinquent, behaviour problems
which may be psychological rather than social
may be more difficult to deal with, at least
in this type of group home situation).

II. Toronto Area Group Homes (Wilgosh, 1973):

1) Description

An evaluation study of 21 out of 41 children
in group homes in Toronto between July - December,
1969, was conducted by interviewing parents and
checking police files. Of the total sample, 57%
had no further offences after placement and 43%
had at least one further offence.

2) Programme

The length of stay in the group home was less
than 6 months for 47%, while 53% stayed between
6 months and two years. The living arrangements
at the time of follow-up study were:

a) parents home   - 33%
b) original group home - 20%
c) different group home - 14%
d) training school   - 23%
e) living on own   - 10%

3) Evaluation

     Those children with placements of less than
6 months in the group home showed more "negative"
results (training school, etc.) with 60% having
committed at least one other offence. Those with
longer placements (more than 6 months) showed an
82% "success" rate (return to parent's home, suc-
cessful adaptation to group home). A third (33%)
had committed at least one other offence and 18%
of those with longer placements had an undetermined
outcome. The children are most likely to be "suc-
cessful" if their parents show favourable attitudes
towards the child and the programme.

NOTES:

1) The length of stay in group homes is not a variable
    here, but more a measure of selection, i.e., those
    who are more likely to have negative results are
    probably also less likely to fit into a group home
    or to remain in a group home for very long. The
    author claims this study as support for the theory
    that to be effective, a placement in a group home
    must be for at least 6 months. This conclusion
    may not be warranted on the basis of the data given.

2) The definition of "success" for those with longer
    placements includes successful adaptation to a
    group home. If the group home is part of the
    treatment, it seems premature to label this a
    "successful" outcome.

3) The only parents who would grant an interview
    were likely those who had a somewhat favourable
    attitude towards the programme, so that the data
    with respect to this variable is likely biased.

III. California Youth Authority Group Homes Project
      (Palmer, 1972; California Youth Authority, 1974):

1) Description

     The homes were in large private dwellings in
two medium size cities, housing from 3 to 6 juveniles
per unit. The adolescents ranging in age from 13-19

were part of the Community Treatment Project, with
parole agents handling a small (11 or 12) case-
load and involved in individual counselling. The
juveniles had an average of 5.8 arrests prior to
their involvement in the project. There were 8
homes altogether, 6 long-term and two temporary,
with one long-term girls' home. Each home had
about 3 parole agents connected with it.

2) Programme

An attempt was made to match boys as classified
by I - level classification (according to such
variables as maturity, aggression, neuroticism,
manipulativeness) with the environment.

Four types of homes were experimented with:

a) Protective: for a maximum of 4 juveniles who
are basically immature and dependent. The
programme stresses family living.

b) Containment: for a maximum of 6 juveniles who
are judged as psychopaths or have a defective
character. The stress is on attaining socially
acceptable behaviour in a non-family setting.

c) Boarding: for a maximum of 6 juveniles who
are more mature. The environment is similar
to a "YMCA hotel".

d) Temporary Care: for a maximum of 6 children
who are not to be placed in a long-term home.

The average duration for the long-term programmes
was 6 months.

3) Evaluation

The boarding home, temporary care and girls'
home were all judged as being quite successful.
The protective home was only a moderate success
and the containment home was only effective in
forming initial stability. At least two homes were
judged as unsuccessful.

Juveniles with higher maturity were more likely
to profit from long-term placement. The optimal
number of juveniles per home was estimated at 4.

NOTES:

It is not possible to say in this study whether
differential success is due to the style of the home envi-
ronment, the type of juvenile placed in the home, or the
interaction between these two, as homes and juveniles were
matched.

The optimal number of 4 juveniles per home is much lower than the usual number of juveniles placed in a home. If at least two adults are hired to staff each home, then the 2:1 ratio of staff to juveniles must lead to a very expensive programme.

IV. Silverlake (Empey, 1968):

1) Description

A large family dwelling in a middle class neighbourhood houses boys, aged 16-18 years, all serious delinquents. The boys all attend school and live in the house during the week, spending weekends at home.

2) Programme

The goal of the programme is to structure a social system where norms and compliance to them result from staff-inmate decision-making. Group meetings are held daily.

3) Evaluation

The evaluation and much of the group discussion is based around "critical incidents" (i.e., examples of delinquent behaviour of some sort, either individual or group, within the home or in connection with community).

From all indications, there was an open discussion of critical incidents within the group. One-half of the critical incidents were precipitated by 11% of the population and 14% of the population participated in 3 or 4 incidents.

In the group meetings, there was a strong demand for punitive action for the offenders from both boys and staff.

The number of critical incidents per boy decreased over time in the programme, suggesting that the social system that developed did gain some control over delinquent behaviour.

V. Criswell House (Flackett, 1970):

1) Description

Criswell House is a community residential centre housing 24-27 boys (divided into 3 groups of 8 or 9 each) for a maximum stay of 8 months for each boy. The boys are referred from juvenile courts, training

schools and aftercare, are adjudicated wards of
the Division of Youth Services and include parole
failures, training school recidivists, serious
drug problems, emotionally disturbed, homosexuals,
etc. Psychotic youths and mental defectives are
automatically excluded. Cost is $9.46/day compared
with $13/day/boy in training school.

The community has been active in finding employ-
ment, giving remedial classes, providing homes for
weekend visits, and giving publicity to the House.

2) Programme

All the boys attend school in the community.
Also, there is a programme carried on in the home.

Goals:

a) To provide an environment where boys can develop
responsibility for making decisions affecting
their own lives and those with whom they live.

b) To orient boys towards responsibilities in the
community.

The core of the treatment programme is "guided
group interaction". On entrance to the house a boy
is 'eased in' to the group over a two-week period.
If he is accepted by the group, he takes part in
the group discussions (5 days a week for 90 minutes
each and attendance is compulsory) which focus on
each other's behaviour, past record, feelings, and
school performance. The older, more mature boys in
the House act as "junior counsellors" to new arrivals.
Serious rule infractions are dealt with by "peer
courts". Crises affecting everyone are dealt with
by the entire population in marathon session.

School work is emphasized as well. Detailed
weekly reports from the schools are brought home;
withdrawal of privileges, etc., are the result of
a decrease in grades.

Overnight or weekend passes are arranged 6-8
weeks after admission and may not be revoked for
"bad behaviour". Furloughs are then granted, each
one longer than the last. A boy leaves Criswell
House when he and his group agree that he has devel-
oped a responsible self-concept. Many boys enter
private foster homes volunteered by families in the
community after 'graduation' from the house. All
are encouraged to return to Criswell occasionally
for group meetings and all are supervised by after-
care counsellors.

3)   Evaluation

There was inadequate data, but of 144 admis-
sions, 4 were arrested for new offences while in
Criswell House. Eighty percent of the graduate
group are making satisfactory community adjustment
7 months after release.

NOTES:

There was insufficient data on the success of the
programme, the factors contributing to change, the exact
role of the community, and the long-range effect of guided
group interaction on attitudes and behaviour.

Two crucial factors stated in this paper as sig-
nificant to success were:

1)   the boy must be able to handle school to be
accepted by the House;

2)   the "guided group interaction" process itself.

There was a possibility of a third factor: the
supervisory, adult counsellors and staff, and how they
interact with the boys on a day-to-day level. The whole
program would be illegitimate in the eyes of the boys if
the counsellors and their actions, discipline, etc.,were
not seen as valid.

VI.   Achievement Place (Phillips, et al., 1973):

1)   Description

Achievement Place, a community-based, family-
style treatment home for delinquent youths was set
up in 1967 by a group of concerned citizens of
Lawrence, Kansas. Six to eight juveniles (age 12
to 16) were sent to the home by a judge after trou-
ble with the law. Two professional teaching-parents
made up the "family" of Achievement Place, which
was located in a quiet residential section of Lawrence.

2)   Programme

The programme utilized, in essence, a social
reinforcement and feedback scheme backed up by a
token economy system which afforded practical,
behavioural reinforcement to the social skills
taught by the two house "parents". The token economy
system reinforced socially desired behaviour only.
A "point-card" recorded a youth's behaviour and the
number of points he earned by doing tasks, good
behaviour at school and at home, etc. He was able

to exchange points he earned with privileges he desired (e.g., use of telephone, T.V., allowance, etc.).

3) Evaluation

This was an attempt to replicate the first Achievement House which emphasized the token economy system to the detriment of social reinforcement. The failure resulted in the isolation of three factors necessary to the success of such a programme.

a) Positive non-conformity methods of giving instructions and feedback.

b) The teaching of social skills.

c) Giving the youths a say in all decisions about the programme.

House parents trained in these variables as well as the token economy system made successes of further replications of Achievement House.

Compared to 15 youths committed to the Kansas Boys School (an institution for 250 delinquents) and 13 youths placed on probation, the 16 youths committed to Achievement Place had fewer police contacts one to two years after release, had a lower rate of recidivism, a lower rate of dropping-out from school and had a higher grade average. All data was compiled at least one year after release from the sampled institutions. The boys were not randomly assigned to each institution so the sample and thus the data is admittedly biased. The total cost of building and operating an Achievement Place, per youth, is roughly 1/4 the cost of building and maintaining a large institution, per youth.

NOTES:

If the authors had dug a little deeper, they may have isolated certain personal qualities of house parents that led to the three successful teaching methods they did isolate. Truax and Carkhuff (1967), investigating what qualities make a good Rogerian analyst, found three personality types to be most effective - therapist self-congruence, accurate empathy, and unconditional positive regard.

Behaviour Therapy (e.g., token economy system) is generally known for producing only short-term results in psychotherapy. Its efficacy is maximized in disorders such as phobias and compulsions and minimized in personality disorders, emotional disturbances and low self-esteem or self-concept (Eysenck, 1965).

It is not surprising, then, that the behaviour technique of a token economy system was not enough to produce results by itself in the first replication. In the face of the other, "relationship variable", the token economy system may even be superfluous.

E. SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

A. Difficulties of Evaluation:

1) Diversity of Programmes

So many different approaches to running group homes make generalization and comparison difficult.

2) Lack of Information

Reports are often lacking in details of relevant variables which makes comparison of programmes difficult.

a) Characteristics of Juveniles: personality and type of offences.

b) Characteristics of Staff: e.g., oriented to counselling, teaching, maintenance, punishment, enthusiasm, ability, training.

c) Type of Programme: guided group interaction, behaviour modification, counselling.

d) Length of programme.

e) Measures on behaviour to indicate adjustment to society, etc., during programme and after completion of programme.

3) Definition of Measures

There have been difficulties in defining "success" and "failure" (e.g., school attendance, living arrangements, work, recidivism, etc.) as well as relating these measures to society, the programme, its goals, the juvenile, etc.

4) Control Groups

Most studies lack control groups, and where they are included, there are difficulties with selection of appropriate subjects, matching of groups and random assignment.

5) Description of Programme

If the programme is planned and described at one level, but carried out by other staff at a

different level, is the real situation equivalent
to the theory? Some work (eg., Silverlake) suggests
they may be very different.

B. Variables:

Keeping in mind the difficulties of evaluating or
interpreting the research, it is possible to isolate some
variables which seem to differentiate between successful and
unsuccessful group home projects.

1) Juvenile-Centred

a) Type of offence or problem before entering the
group home: There is some suggestion that
individuals with psychological problems (run-
away, etc.) may be more difficult to treat than
those with a more social problem (theft, etc.).

This may be true if the treatment is
focussed on overt behaviour (behaviour modifi-
cation) rather than internal problems, or if
the programme is designed to achieve a change
in social values.

There has not been enough relevant data
to determine which types of problems or offences
are best treated in a group home programme.

b) Characteristics of Juvenile: Different person-
ality types will likely react differently to
the group home setting. Some group home envi-
ronments might help one type and be harmful for
another type (California Youth Authority).

Matching the personality of the juvenile
with the intended home environment has had some
success and some failure.

It is difficult to know if success or
failure is due to personality or environment
or both.

More mature juveniles seem to benefit
more from group homes (Silverlake).

c) Attitudes of Parents: Children are more likely
to succeed in group home programmes if parents
view favourably both the child and the programme
(Toronto group homes).

This may be due to the fact that children
with parents who have a more hopeful outlook
would rehabilitate better with no treatment
programme, or any other type of programme.

d) Existence of "Inmate Sub-culture": Most of the group home programmes are based on the assumption that a unified culture will arise, encompassing all inmates and staff, that will allow for the change and enforcement of social norms ("Yule Farm", Silverlake, Criswell House, Achievement Place).

There is evidence however (Silverlake) that a strong inmate subculture resists efforts to subjugate it. This problem is found in larger institutions as well.

The existence of an inmate subculture reinforces the adherence to delinquent norms and attitudes, so that effective rehabilitation is more difficult or impossible.

It would appear that any programme which put together a group of juvenile delinquents would be faced with this same problem, but the group therapy approach may even tend to heighten the effect by encouraging greater group cohesion.

2) Staff-Centred

a) Training: There is a great deal of variance in the degree to which group home staff ("house-parents") are trained.

It is likely that part of the staff's role would be made more effective if they had been given training in counselling, etc.

Some specific programme goals could only be reached if the staff were trained to carry out the programme (eg., guided group inter-action, behaviour modification).

b) Whether staff can and does carry out the pro-gramme as planned.

Staff may fail to emphasize positive social reinforcement (Achievement Place) to bring about desired changes in behaviour.

Staff may favour use of punishment in a system designed to replace punishment concepts (Silverlake).

c) Personality, etc.: The most difficult parts of a programme to assess are the personality characteristics of staff that make some suc-cesses and others failures in their interactions with adolescents (Achievement Place).

There is a lack of sufficient data from experimental programmes to provide much of a guide.

3) Interaction of Staff and Juveniles

The interaction between staff personality and juvenile characteristics is crucial to the success of a programme, but difficult to assess or predict.

4) Programme-Centred

a) Duration: While temporary placement houses may be needed in some cases, most evidence suggests that programmes are more effective if they are of at least 6 months duration (Toronto, "Yule Farm").

b) Number of participants in home: Only the Silverlake programme examined this variable, concluding that four juveniles per home was an optimal number, while more than 6 would be too much for the house-parents to handle. - However, other programmes usually had more participants (6-8 in Achievement Place; 8-9 in Criswell House) and these programmes seemed to be successful trade-offs in reducing size of group: increased interaction with staff along with increased costs.

c) Type of Environment: Generally determined by juvenile-staff interaction, type of programme, etc., may need different type of environment for different type of juvenile problem (Silver-lake).

d) Continuity: Continuity of programmes and juvenile's basic life style is attempted in two major ways:

   i) establishing home in youth's original com-munity so that he may continue at same school, visit family or friends on weekends, participate in community activities (attempted in most programmes).

   ii) extensive follow-up programme after dis-charge using same personnel as in programme and providing counselling, etc., with family ("Yule Farm", Criswell House).

e) Type of Programme: Successful project generally had a carefully thought out and executed pro-gramme within the group home as well as connec-tions with schools, etc., in the community.

i)   behaviour modification: while not suc-
     cessful on its own ("Children's Centre",
     Achievement Place) some progress was pos-
     sible in programmes using a token economy
     as a system of behaviour modification.
     Social reinforcement for acceptable behav-
     iour is likely a major part of all suc-
     cessful programmes (Achievement Place).

ii) guided group interaction: using a group
     discussion as a basis of forming and enforc-
     ing socially acceptable norms seems to be
     effective, at least to some extent (Silver-
     lake, Criswell House).

iii) involvement of juveniles in programme:
     general involvement of youths in decision-
     making about their own life and programme
     seems essential to creating a sense of
     responsibility and gaining cooperation needed
     for a successful programme   ("Yule Farm",
     Silverlake, Criswell House, Achievement Place).

iv) flexibility: since needs and problems of
     juveniles can differ greatly, as can apti-
     tudes and orientations of staff, flexibility
     of programme to accommodate both sides
     adequately is important ("Yule Farm").

GROUP HOMES

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VIII DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT

The basic premise of these programmes is that
not all deviant youth are the same. Therefore different
youth need different solutions to the same problems.
Two examples are provided in the present review. One, the
California Community Treatment Project provided parallel
and duplicate programmes for different types within their
typology. On the other hand, New York provided different
programmes for different types.

A. THE COMMUNITY TREATMENT PROJECT

One of the most ambitious projects which encom-
passes the entire range of service is California's Community
Treatment Project. The evidence with regard to success or
failure is inconclusive. The fact that the cost of this
program is similar to the costs of institutionalization and
that the ultimate outcomes are the same does not bode well
for this kind of programme.

The programme was begun in 1961 and was operating
until 1974. The nature of the programme was experimental
and was designed to examine the question: Can youthful
offenders be treated in their communities without being
removed to an institution? If so, what variables make for
a successful programme?

A. Eligibility:

All youths under the jurisdiction of the California
Youth Authority (CYA) were included with the exception of
those charged with seriously assaultive offences (armed robbery,
forcible rape, etc.) or where strong community objection was
raised. The sample included 65% of all the boys and 83% of
all the girls under the jurisdiction of CYA.

B. Programme:

Youths were randomly assigned to the control (C)
or experimental (E) groups, with the control group being
institutionalized (per usual CYA policy) and the experimental
group taking part in the CTP. Both groups were matched on
age, I.Q., socio-economic status, race, etc. Upon entry into
the programme, each ward in the experimental group was
assessed and an individualized plan for treatment was drawn
up (based on the individual's strength, weaknesses, interests,
maturity level, family background, etc.). The treatment
could include:

   a)   intensive and/or extensive involvement with worker
        (caseload limited to 12 youths per worker);

b) residential placement (foster homes, group homes, dormitory);

c) school programme at CTP Community Centre (15-20% of participants);

d) recreational and socializing opportunities;

e) full or part-time work (35%).

Each unit of the programme was usually composed of a treatment supervisor, male community agents (6), a female community agent, a full-time teacher, a half-time group supervisor (an administrative supervisor over larger area), and 84 wards.

C. Interpersonal Maturity Level Classification (I-Levels):

Youths were classified according to the personality theory based on maturity level with sub-types, on the basis of a 1 1/2 hour interview. (A description of I-Level and sub-type characteristics is given in the Assessment Section of this report.)

This classification system forms much of the basis for decisions on individual treatment programmes.

The theory relates needs and characteristics of youth sub-types to treatment approaches and worker characteristics. In the running of the groups in the programme, 4 main groupings of sub-types were formed. In evaluating the programme, 3 of the major groupings accounted for 7/8 of the boys:

1) Passive Conformist (Immature Conformist)

2) Power Oriented (Cultural Conformist and Manipulator)

3) Neurotic (Neurotic Acting Out and Neurotic Anxious).

D. Characteristics of Workers:

The classification by I-Levels was used to form groups of boys at a similar social level. Groups were then matched with workers whose personal characteristics were thought to be most helpful with that particular group.

1. Immature Conformist Youth

The successful worker was: socially reticent, calm, leisurely in social interrelations, and underplayed emotional aspects. These factors could help reduce the fear of adults, provide a non-threatening

environment to allow for the development of a
strong dependency relationship as a prelude to
the youth becoming more self-sufficient.

2.   Unsocialized or Low-Maturity Youth

     The successful worker was: spontaneous,
lacked social restraint, had a sense of humour,
was obviously enthusiastic and expressed himself
openly.

3. a)   Anxious Neurotic Youth

     The successful worker was: accepting of "bad"
parts of youths and not taken in by the socially
acceptable part.   He recognized and supported the
youth's strengths.   The emphasis was on intros-
pection, thinking, and working for clarification
of underlying reasons for attitudes and feelings.

   b)   Acting-Out Neurotic Youth

     The successful worker was: careful not to
threaten the youth's autonomy, quick-thinking,
alert, forceful, aware of the present-day adolescent
world and informal.

E.   Residential Programmes:

   1.   Foster Homes

   2.   Group Homes   [see section under Group Homes for
                       details]

     A sub-project was operated in 1966-1969 to
determine the feasibility of establishing 5 types
of group homes with environments specifically
designed to promote the growth and development of
certain types of delinquents (protective, contain-
ment, boarding, temporary community care and short-
term restriction which was not established).   The
group homes were seen to:

   i)   provide alternative to youth in placement
        crisis;

  ii)   be potentially useful in long-range treat-
        ment objectives;

 iii)   provide the community agent with more and
        better information about children.

   3.   Dormitory

     The dormitory was built to house 23-25 youths
but actually accommodated between 15 and 32 at any

one time. It was usually minimum security and
located several miles from the community centre.
The programme provided the option of releasing
youths directly to the CTP programme in the
community, or first to an intensive residential
situation, then to the community CTP programme.

Of the juveniles judged to be "more difficult"
(46% of all juveniles), those placed right into
the community performed significantly worse than
those placed first in dormitory (94% vs. 58% com-
mitting one or more offence in the first 1 1/2
years on parole). The juveniles judged to be
"less difficult" did not gain by being placed in
residence with few substantial differences bet-
ween the residential and non-residential juveniles.

4. Findings

An intensive residential programme should be
provided for those judged in need of such facilities
as it appears to aid in their rehabilitation.

F. School Programme:

This programme was located in the community centre
of CTP and accommodated 15 to 20% of all CTP participants.
It attempted to breakdown the negative stereotype of school
from past experience before beginning actual education.
Classes were small (about 5 students) allowing for more
individual attention, a more personal relationship between
teacher and students, and a more relaxed and informal class-
room atmosphere. Remedial academic material was geared to
the interests of the students. Also, the programme was flexible
to accommodate a parole programme and adjustment outside of
the classroom.

G. Differential Decision-Making:

If a delinquent commits an offence or infraction
while on parole, that parole can either, as a result, be
restored or revoked. The decision of the resulting action
can be based on:

1) severity of offence; arbitrary rules, etc;

2) judgement of individual characteristics; effects
    of decision on treatment and long-range reha-
    bilitation, etc. (differential decision-making).

Differential decision-making is based on:

a) the agent's awareness of certain patterns of
    testing-out; patterns of expressing conflict

and crisis on part of certain types of youths
(i.e., expect certain types of acting-out
behaviour as phase of intensive treatment);

b)   the agent's estimates of conditions under which
acting-out will be more likely to be transitory;

c)   the agent's ability to detect and evaluate changes
in wards;

d)   overall positive potential of programme to which
the youth would be restored (possible benefits
must outweight risk of restoring youth).

H. Differential Treatment Units (DTU) and Guided Group Interaction (GGI):

A comparison of DTU and GGI in a San Francisco
project showed no significant difference between groups
in background variables. Differences did emerge on the
basis of the following:

1)   amount of community exposure before revoking
parole; DTU significantly longer than GGI;

2)   favourable discharge from programme; GGI sig-
nificantly greater than DTU (34% vs. 14% after
24 months);

3)   failure on parole;

a)   after 15 months, GGI significantly higher
than DTU (51% vs. 29%), and

b)   after 24 months, no difference (44% DTU vs.
42% GGI);

4)   of those viewed responding positively to programme,

a)   positive change and growth on psychological
test measures showed DTU greater than GGI, and

b)   growth of socialization showed GGI was greater
than DTU.

Both GGI and DTU showed growth in pre- to post-programme
testing. There were no clear differences with respect to
delinquent behaviour. The choice of the programme would
depend on goals, priorities, etc.

I. Evaluation of Programme:

Table 2 presents a summary of major results.

1) Neurotics constituted 70-75% of male delinquent
population and were better in intensive CTP
programmes (E) than the traditional (C).

2) Power Oriented youth fared worse in CTP than in
the traditional programme.

3) Passive Conformists, while under CYA jurisdiction,
showed that the intensive group did better than
the traditional group. In a 4 year follow-up
on those with a favourable discharge:

a) on convictions: C better than E, and
b) on arrests: E better than C.

4) Remaining Types (about 12% of boys) were:

a) asocialized passive, who were somewhat better
in CTP;

b) cultural identifiers, who were somewhat better
in the traditional programme.

5) Girls did about the same in CTP and the traditional
programme.

6) Costs. In the early period (1961-63), the institu-
tion cost less than the CTP, but in the later period
(1971-73), the costs were about equal.

J. Factors Related to the Success of CTP Treatment Approach:

1) Community located E subjects did better than
community located C subjects.

2) Institutionalized C subjects were about equivalent
to non-institutionalized C subjects.

3) Treatment part of CTP is most important.

The success of treatment depends on:

1) adequate implementation of programmes;

2) matching of delinquents and community agents;

3) nature of differential treatment community
agents (level of ability, perceptiveness);

TABLE 2

MAIN RESULTS OF EVALUATION OF CTP

Measure	Neurotics Experimental	Control	Power Oriented Experimental	Control	Overall (males) Experimental	Control
Arrests (rate/month)	.03	.08	not specified	not specified	.040	.065
Recidivism (%) 24 months	45%	66%	40%	60%	44%	63%
Favourable Discharge (%)	77%	40%	43%	53%	69%	50%
Unfavourable Discharge (%)	17%	40%	23%	15%	16%	23%
Convictions (Average) 48 months	1.58	1.88	2.55	1.47	1.67	1.42

4) intensive and/or extensive intervention of
    community agent in several aspects of youth's
    life - made possible by small caseload;

5) emphasis on working through of agent/ward
    relationship as major vehicle and product of
    treatment;

6) differential and appropriate decision-making
    (to restore or revoke parole after first or
    early offence or infraction).

B. THE NEW YORK EXAMPLE

Another integrated programme was implemented in
New York. The premises underlying the program were:

1) deviant youth have impulse control programmes, and

2) problems stem from intrapsychic conflicts.

Intake Criteria:

The youth's attitudinal and behavioural indices,
and not the nature of the offence are given priority.

Programme Approaches

Four basic approaches were implemented to offer
differential treatment approaches for youths with problems
ranging from gradations of immaturity to deepseated con-
flicts manifested, in part, in delinquent behaviour.

1. Conservation Camps

These were suited for the more immature youths
who were deemed to need a moratorium from home
pressures and negative community influences. In
the forestry setting, the programme stresses super-
vised outdoor work experience, recreation, academic
and remedial instruction, religious services,
reality-oriented group counselling and an oppor-
tunity to associate with interested and mature adult
role models.

Hard work in the form of conservation chores
was a programme technique, and the ability to
follow orders, to act as crew leaders, to complete
assignments and to acquire skills as well as the
satisfaction of these acquisitions, were thought
of as fundamental requirements for the adoption
of work attitudes and habits necessary to obtain
and hold a community job later. The pace was rapid,
and hopefully exciting in its adventuresomeness
and challenge.

2. The Short-Term Adolescent Resident Training
   (START) Programme

   This programme was to serve the older manipu-
lative more delinquency-oriented youth. Intensive
group interaction was emphasized for the develop-
ment of an understanding of the meaning of their
behaviour. Youth worked on hospital grounds each
day in a variety of work assignments.

3. Urban Home Programme

   Youth were selected if they possessed suf-
ficient stability, ties and strengths to be main-
tained in their home community with adult guidance
and support. Individual schedules for community
work and school were devised and the youth received
counselling, maintenance, tutoring and other services
in relation to his needs. Daily participation in
local community activities was required.

4. The Short-Term Aid to Youth (STAY) Programme

   This programme was a non-residential pro-
gramme similar to START, with a daily, supervised
work experience. Group sessions, emphasizing a
confronting probing approach were scheduled, as
well as parent-youth group sessions with the
director.

   Several rudimentary approaches underline the
four programmes:

   1) Youth had to be helped to accept that they had
      worth and potential.

   2) Youth contact with the real world had to be
      maximized (i.e., community-camp athletic leagues,
      shopping trips, tours of cultural sites, general
      open-door policy which encouraged local civic
      groups to utilize the facilities). Staff members
      were encouraged to bring their own families to
      the facilities and to participate in Christmas
      parties, bowling leagues and other social events.

   3) Youth involvement in programmes of service to
      others was important for enhancing feelings of
      self worth (i.e., fighting a forest fire, search-
      ing for a lost child, building a camp gymnasium or
      baseball field for the municipality, assistants
      in wards for mentally retarded children, distribut-
      ing supplies to welfare clients, etc.).

   4) Youth work experiences had to be realistically
      interpreted.

5) Youth acceptance of responsibility was paramount.

6) Community acceptance was needed and nurtured.

7) "New Careers Programme": 10% of the facility staff are former offender-graduates from the programme.

Apartment complexes, aftercare teams, satellite forestry and recreation camps and a college liaison have been instituted into the programme with the passage of time.

DIFFERENTIAL TREATMENT

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